1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

that we walk the Bak'a with pleasure, that he treat us well, that we walk in safety. Thank you."

The men in the other canoes, who had gathered about Sedefo's boat, clapped their hands, as Sedefo had done, and said "Thank you," then took up their paddles.

We had noticed that when Sedefo spoke, Bibifo's lips had moved, as though he were either repeating the prayer, or speaking his own, but when the others joined in the voiced "Gran' tangi!" he was silent.

"Did you pray, Bayo?" we asked. Yes, he had. He had prayed for us, too. Did Bibifo also pray for the white man? But before Bibifo could answer, Bayo laughed aloud.

"Bibifo is *kerki suma*—a church man. Call him Adrian, it will please him. I call him Bibifo, nothing else."

"And you, Bayo?"

"I—you will take me with you to Africa. I want to learn African obia, and come back to the Saramacca, and be a big obia man here on the river."

5

Old Bibifo accepted his great-grandson's jibes with good humor. We were sorry for the old fellow who was so little at ease with the other men, and was so mercilessly twitted by the youngster in the bow.

If the old man were to make a suggestion to him about a channel which Bayo had decided against, then he would turn brazenly, and exclaim, "Massa cow!" This is part of the proverb which says that a man who owns the cow has the best right to say where it shall graze. If Bibifo objected when Bayo attempted to do something that seemed impossible, he would face about smilingly and say, "The power which has raised the monkey from the ground and taught it to live safely in the trees is not dead yet."

"Bibifo," we said, making conversation with the old man, "Why do we go close to the shore?"

"In the center the current is swift and the river deep. When we go in the center, then we use only paddles. It is

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

"The gods are friendly to you, Massa. The men have all noticed it. You look upon trees and falls with pleasure. When you see them, it is as if you met with a friend. That is good. But the gods have their powers, and men have theirs. The Rabbit says, 'Evil is everywhere.' Last night, you remember, there was a man who did not look up when you passed his house, and when you spoke 'Howdo' to him, he would not answer. He was an obia man. He would not take the hand of a white man. I have heard the men say there are others who are not glad that the white man has come so far, and that the gods have allowed it. . . . "

Abruptly he stopped. He had said more than he intended.

"I came to tell you about another thing," he continued after a moment of embarrassment. "You should know about fio-fio."

Fio-fio was a small brown bug, and it was also a spirit. The spirit fio-fio brought sickness and death to human beings. For people like ourselves, untutored in the ways of the spirits, and the things which allowed them to gain sway over an individual, only a diviner could seek out the incident which had caused fio-fio to come.

That was why it was necessary to bathe in a protecting fluid, to "wash fio-fio," even though we had not yet been stricken.

"Let me tell you now to wash nó-nõ," he went on. "You must bathe when nobody sees you, and this is what you must have: the skin of a plantain we call the mother plantain that has been dried in smoke, and weeds which I will give you, and Negro-country pepper which I have with me, and seven pieces of chalk, and some eggshells. Some people put washing-blue in the water, too, but that you don't need. You can bathe in it early in the morning, or at noon, or right after sundown, but no one must see you."

He paused for a moment.

"Do you not have fio-fio in your country? Look, this is how it is. You quarrel with a man who works for you, and he comes back and says he is sorry, and you say you are

11 Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

sorry, too. He does that because he is afraid of fio-fio. If a man quarrels with you, and he keeps his anger in him, and you keep yours, and later he takes work from you, then either he, or you, or both of you will get sick. If the anger was great, then you or he or both of you will become very sick. If you catch it soon, then you get together, and, as we say, '*Pu' mofo*'—take back what you had said. Then you get better."

Fio-fio had nothing to do with enmity. Honest enmity was not harmful. Enmity masked, however, or bitterness, or a grudge which a man harbored while he continued a relationship of friendship, sickened a man, and it sickened the man against whom the grudge was held, as well. That was fio-fio. Only those who had relationships of intimacy were subject to it—people who were united by blood ties, or ties of friendship, or servants who formed part of the household.

The remedy was ceremonially to retract and ask for pardon. It had to be done before people, with the proper ritual and bathing.

"If this isn't done, then a person gets worse and worse, and dies. I myself saw the fio-fio bug fly out of the nose of a dying woman."

This woman had sickened because she had quarreled with her sister over a man. In the end they had both lost him. As time went on, they began to talk again and later lived together in their mother's house. But they had never forgiven each other. One day one of them borrowed a kerchief from the other to wear at a dance. The next day she was ill. From then on she got worse and worse.

"The quarrel between the sisters had happened so long ago that they never thought of it. So they did nothing. In a month she died, and I myself saw the fio-fio bug fly out of her nose."

He knew another story about fio-fio.

"This happened to a man I know. His child died less than a month ago. He was living with a woman, and the woman became big with child. He had been away in the

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

bush for some months, and when he came back he did not feel well, and they quarreled often. When they quarreled she refused to cook for him, and so he said bad things to her. He began to say the child was not his. Now when a father takes away his 'kra, his soul, from the child while it is in the mother's womb, it is not good. When the child was born, it was a very small child. Afterwards the man left the woman. He still said the child was not his, but he used to bring money to the woman sometimes to buy things for the child. The neighbors said she must not take the money. If she took it, they said, the child would die of fio-fio. But the woman took the money. Nowadays many of them don't believe in the old things, until they find out. When the child was four months old it died. Everybody knew it was fio-fio."

He told other incidents of what happened to people who had fio-fio.

"I tell you all this because sometimes the men in the boats talk about the whites, and they think you don't understand. But you know what they say, and you are angry. If you give them a present of leaf tobacco later, or rum, then they or you may become sick. . . . The men in the bush know what to do about fio-fio, Massa, and you must learn, too. The proverb says: 'How is a boat to go, [illegible] it has no paddles?'"

3

At the entrance to the village [illegible] cotton tree stood. Its trunk was massive, and the roots which projected outwards like so many buttresses made of it a great somber cathedral. The curiously twisted grooves which these buttresses made were said to house many spirits, and particularly the three who lived in the kankan tree, as the natives called it. Gedeonsu, the male god, and Tinné, his wife, lived there with their child Dyombie, the most dreaded of them all. The kankan tree gods were thought of as women's gods, though a few men might be found, here and there, who would, on occasion,

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Saramacca

THE COUNCIL OF THE ELDERS

"Kodo!"

"Another letter has come, Bak'a. Will you read that one, too?"

This was a communication written by a lumber factor down the river. One of the villages, it seemed, was in dispute with another over timber rights. The case was laid before the Granman by the factor, who asked that the controversy be settled promptly, since the dispute was keeping the men of both villages from cutting the lumber which had been promised him.

Yankuso now spoke again: "You have heard the message, friends. The man who buys timber asks that I settle this dispute between two of our clans. Their villages are far from here. The clans of the Saramacca people can settle their own disputes."

"Gbolo!"

"So I say, friends. I can look at the cows, but from a distance I cannot tell how many there are. It is not for us here to decide this."

"*Kweti, kweti!*—No, no!"

"It is true, friends, as the Saramacca people say, 'The G'aman's breasts are for all his children.' But it is not my children who have come to me. Bak'a," he said, suddenly turning to us, "later you will write for me to this man who buys lumber. Tell him that for the sake of sweet soup a man eats sour dumplings. So I say."

The Granman looked about him. The heat of midday filled the darkness of the council house, and old Bibifo had dozed off. The gaze of the chief fixed him.

"Mati!" he said, when Bibifo stirred. "Sleep is death!"

Slowly the Granman's eyes circled the room until they came to us.

"The Bak'a has come," he repeated, with his slow intonation, every syllable clearly enunciated. "When the Bak'a came, the rain fell. From Asindopo Lantiwe we shot guns of welcome, from Abenda Konde guns were shot. In the heavens, the gods spoke them welcome. There was thunder."

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

one feels any grudge against society. There is small temptation to theft. There are, therefore, no questions of capital and labour, no leisure class, no organized industries, no exploitation either of men or of raw materials, no banks to rob, no checks to forge. Under such conditions economic crimes are practically eliminated. Man lives off the jungle and the streams which intersect it, and there are at his disposal uncounted miles of stream and of jungle. Such crimes as exist among the human inhabitants of these forests arise chiefly in quarrels over women. But where divorce is free and instantaneous, and sexual relationships are taken lightly, even the difficulties between men and women are enormously simplified.

And as these Djukas stood curiously staring outside the prison gates of St. Laurent, they seemed to me to stand in judgment. When I watched them get into their canoes and paddle upstream, returning to their green jungle fastnesses, and heard them call to one another from canoe to canoe, and heard their laughter ring out across the sunlit water, I felt that they went back to the forest, well content that their slave ancestors of two hundred years ago had fled from the white man and all his ways, back to the jungle, there to lead the primitive life of their African forbears.

I had gone to French Guiana to study the convict life of the Devil's Island Penal Colony. And when that had been completed, my husband and I made a journey through the interior of Dutch Guiana, travelling by the streams and trails used by fugitives from the French prisons. This is how we

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
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When there is a conflict between villages over their hunting and fishing territories, the captains and bosseias of each town meet on some neutral ground and arbitrate the matter. Then, indeed, the parley becomes wordy and rhetorical. Each cause is championed with long speeches, setting forth oratorically the rights and conditions involved. But once an agreement is arrived at, the matter is closed.

Local disputes, excluding those over women, are not nearly so common or so serious as they are among civilized white men. There is a minimum of quarrelling among the Djukas; they get along together in an almost idyllic way. Wherever there are women, there will, of course, be quarrelling, for, in the words of Confucius, "Disorder does not come from heaven, but is brought about by women." Outside of this factor there is little friction in the Bush Negro community. Their highly communalized government works exceedingly well.

The Granman and his captains have an annual council to make laws for the coming year. This and other assemblies are known as *kruta*. The captains and bosseias from surrounding villages concentrate at some important town to meet the Granman there. The Council near Gansee, the trading-post, included the villages of Nu, Lombe, Biodoti, Ganya Condree, and Adawai. Jankoeso refused to hold his parley in the town proper, although Gansee is the largest village in the entire tribe, because there is a Christian mission station there, conducted by the Moravian Brothers. Jankoeso is in favour of retaining the ancestral gods of the jungle, and does not look with favour upon the white proselytizers.

/14 cont./

584 and, once this has been promised, she does indeed continue to be regarded specifically as the betrothed of the person who made the request. As soon as she is marriageable, she is handed over to her man with or without her consent, and it may be regarded as a rare case when such a promise is broken.

[431] The man to whom she is promised sometimes does not see his future wife before the occasion of her betrothal, but usually he is concerned with her upbringing and from time to time gives her presents consisting of money, pantjes, and corals.

[591] Some take the girl promised to them even when she is only three or four years old in order to rear her further.

[672] The promising of newborn girls takes place for the most part [682] when there are obligations between parents, as was reported in Chapter III, and in the case of enslavement which is done to one [567] family by another in case of poisoning, and so forth.

586 It is an everyday occurrence that a woman leaves her husband or a man his wife for another.

595 Polygyny is much practiced, and among my workers I know several who have three or four wives, most of whom are very young. Some, however, have only one wife.

It is noteworthy that all the wives sleep with the man in one hut, while in addition he perhaps keeps with him a girl whom he [513] is bringing up to be his wife. One wife will be /15/ with him in the hammock and lies with her feet at the head end of the man and the latter in turn with his feet at the head end of the women, while the other women sleep in their hammocks.

[484] If a Bush Negro goes out, be it to celebrate a festival or in order to fetch wood to the town, he takes all his wives with him; only in case of illness do they remain behind.

His wives get money separately, and therefore they must also separately provide for his food, so that one cooks the food in the morning, another at midday, a third in the evening, etc. [578] This way of life and their jealous nature frequently bring about household quarrels that rarely end in any way other than bloody fights.

585 Upon the conclusion of a marriage the man is obligated to 583 give the parents of the girl as a marriage portion a long, broad,

/141 cont./

4. The Agrarian Law

241 There is yet another circumstance which adversely affects
#23 the agriculture of the Bush Negroes. As among many primitive peoples, so also in the life of the Djoeka /Djuka/ customary law plays an important role. We have already seen that at least two grounds per year are laid out per household. In fact it comes down to this, that both the man and the woman possess a ground of their own. Now these two grounds do not lie next to each other or close to each other. On the contrary, the one ground is always hours away from the other one; it is to be found on the other side of the river or elsewhere along a forest creek. One might think that this is a kind of division of risks. In actuality it is a question of family property. The ground of the wife is cleared in the area of her family, and the ground of the man in his family complex. The grounds are thus laid out with reference to the large family and not with reference to the household. Each family has a definite area where it has the right to clear grounds. This area lies along a forest creek, or one lays out a path from the river through the forest, along which the grounds
● [578] are cleared. Not infrequently, quarrels arise over the use of land by "unauthorized" persons on distinctly family land.

A Bush Negro thus cannot simply select a piece of forest for his ground wherever he pleases. He is bound by the law of family property. This applies not only to the families among themselves, but in a larger context also to the villages. Each village has its area within which the families from that village lay out grounds. Only through marriage can men lay out grounds for their wives in the area of another village.

These complications in agriculture lead to the circumstance that the hunger for land arises much sooner than would otherwise
[361] be the case. Add to this the fact that many Bush Negro villages
[161] remain in existence for a very long time, sometimes 100 years at a stretch, in the same spot. It is therefore not surprising that through the growth in population in such centers, too, the limit of this predatory cultivation has been reached.

/19 cont./

613 621 591 The principle of localization of matrilineal kin groups, each in a separate village, continues respected. However, as in all African populations, the actual structure is noticeably different from the theoretical organization:

1st. Fragments of paternal kin groups, as well as several small groups of heterogeneous origin, insufficient in number to form a separate unit, have been agglomerated with the lo. Such is the case for example of the Tolna lineage, a small group which fled from Surinam at the end of the 19th century and agglomerated with the Papalsson lo;

• [578] 2nd. Scissions have been produced within the lo as a result of disagreements. A group issuing from the Papalsson lo founded Wéniti village in the Lower Maroni beside Apatu. A group issuing from the Kotika lo founded Ma Imma village in the same region. Finally, from the Dipélu II lo a group separated which settled in Asisi. Asisi village is thus in fact nowadays the juxtaposition of three villages: Asisi-Dju, Asisi-Awaca Bakka, Asisi-Dipélu II, each having its organization and its separate territory.

[829] These scissions have no appreciable repercussions on the social life of the Boni, for the groups thus separated from the lo, in addition to being very small in numbers, [569] are not recognized by the grand man as distinct social units. They remain subject to the head of the lo to which ancestor worship attaches them.

361 613 621 Besides the residence villages, a certain number of Boni have personal farming habitations distributed on the lands of their lineage along both banks of the river and on the islands. These habitations designated by the word lãpu, camp, have no permanent character; their existence does not violate the principle of localization of the lineage; each Boni is obliged at least in principle to build a house in his native village and to live in it part of the year.

[629] [978] The village of origin of each /20/ lineage is called "great village": it is there that the members of the group meet to pray to the ancestors in front of the fraga tiki.

613 /25 cont./
[601] nothing of their strength although they have lost all correspondence with the age of the people concerned.

614 —Dipélu II. whose members know their genealogy badly.
671 appears on the contrary to be on the way toward breaking up. The head of the Dipélu II. who bears the title of captain, resides
(578) at Kormotibo. Part of the group settled in Asisi following a disagreement, without ceasing to be under his authority.

614 One might think that the physical separation of the two
602 groups took place as a function of the genealogies, that the 2nd
571 fraction of Dipélu II emigrated as a single group to Asisi, leaving in Kormotibo the members of the 1st fraction. But this is not the case at all; examination of the genealogical table shows that the emigrant group issues as much from one as from the other; this is a very remarkable aspect of the social structure of the Refugee Blacks, which proceeds directly from their conception of classificatory kinship. A man is "at home" wherever his classificatory "brothers" and "uncles" live, and if a physical separation occurs in the group, preferences and personal affinities will have as much influence as closeness of kinship. /26/

613 Three generations ago, Dipélu was only one group under
614 the leadership of a single head residing in Kormotibo. The process
591 of its breaking up is a beautiful example of what Europeans produce
199 by interfering in the social life of an African tribe in order to pick out a man who appears to them more intelligent and active than the others.

[594] The companion of the explorer Crevaux, Apatu, who be-
[601] longed to this group, was on his return covered with honors, en-
[578] dowed with the title of captain and with pay; he conflicted with the legitimate head of the to, seceded, and founded a village on the outskirts of Saint-Laurent, taking with him a fraction of the group.

/12 cont./

to observe all his life and which he himself will transmit to his children. It is unanimously believed that breaking this interdiction causes leprosy (bwasi).

This interdiction is never transmitted by women. It is transmitted from father to son /33/ or daughter. The son will observe it and transmit it; the daughter will observe it during her lifetime, but she will not transmit it.

The existence of the bwasi kina divides the Boni into de facto groupings which can be considered as patrilineages. These patrilineages have no name, no head, no organization; their members are dispersed among the various matrilineages and most of them do not know who the others are.

They exist nevertheless and extend throughout all the tribes of Refugee Blacks.

Their importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks comes from the fact that they involve a law of exogamy: a man and a woman who have the same bwasi kina cannot marry; that would be pikalo, incest in the broad sense, an offense against exogamy, as much as the union of two members of the same matrilineage.

It is difficult to estimate the number of these patrilineages which seems to us to be at least 20 among the Boni; actually, the Boni do not willingly tell their bwasi kina, for fear that one of their enemies might mix into their food a fragment of the interdicted food in order to harm them; besides, they do not know their personal relations beyond their grandfather. Reconstitution of patrilineages by interrogation seems therefore to be illusory.

The bwasi kina we have been able to find out about are all about food. They involve the cayman, the "tiger," the tarwine, the white hen, the pisan (awali), the eel. The cayman is often given in addition to another animal. But it is inaccurate to say that the Refugee Blacks have a general interdiction against the cayman.

/37 cont./

An example of scission in a kin group: the separation of Dipelu II between Karmoribo and Asisi. (See Dip. II genealogical table.)

This scission resulted from a ridiculous incident: a falling-out which occurred between ○ Alaweschi † (I19) and ○ Bongo (I8) because of a hoe which the first claimed to have been stolen from her by Bongo.

Since neither one would yield, they became really angry and fought. /38/

△ Agona, head of the lineage, taking the part of Alaweschi, decided to secede and settle in Asisi.

○ Pilli † (F35) and ○ Séwy † (F38) who, their mother being dead, had been raised by Alaweschi, joined them and founded families in Asisi.

This explains the present scission of this group and the bizarre division of its members between Karmoribo and Asisi. This scission had no result on the religious plane, unity being maintained by the potent tie of the kumu. Nowadays, Captain Pompo's authority is exerted normally on the fraction in Asisi. Relations between the two groups are rather good. /Figs. 5 and 6 appear here./

/40/ CHAPTER III

INVENTORY OF THE PEOPLING OF THE BONI VILLAGES

We have tried to take a complete census of the Boni of the Upper Marouni as of January 1, 1958, including for the women the statement of their successive unions and of their children living and dead. This census is associated with detailed plans of the villages and a study of the territorial implantation of kin groups.

613 /38 cont./
621 except in villages like Bonaville where the issue of several lineages
[591] coexist. The rule is that in the homogeneous villages the members of the lineage are entirely free to build their houses anywhere. One observes only a certain tendency of children to group themselves around their mother as far as places are available (see especially in the village of Loka the intermingling of the homes of the descendants of Adédumi, Awɛ̃nkina, and other ancestresses belonging to the same lineage).

In villages like Asisi-Awara Bakka, where are grouped the members of a lo including individualized fractions, it is the same.

These fractions have no tendency whatever to form separate quarters (see in the plan of Asisi the intermingling of the homes of the Aw.B.1. 2. 3) any more than they tend to group their clearings in a separate area.

The Boni are apt to say: "Barriers must not be raised between brothers."

621 In a general way, examination of the village plans shows
425 that the Boni build their houses to suit themselves without any privileged orientation and without grouping or isolating them in any special way. Any member of the lineage may build on a site left free (for example, the site of an old hut after the death of its owner, when it has been adjudged to be too ruined to be possi-
[622] ble to give as a legacy). He must only have the authorization of the head of the village and also the assent of the neighbors, whom he must not disturb. Since the houses occupy only a small amount of space and most of them have no outbuildings (kitchen
[578] or granary), this assent is very easily given. We have never heard it said that people argued about a site.

/67 cont./

613 554 692 [542] 2) He exerts an extended judiciary power, for it is taken for granted that the legal and political power of the tribe cannot intervene in affairs between members of the same lineage, even murder, for it can be said that in the custom of the Refugee Blacks the lineage represents only one single life.

It is obligatory that the following be settled within the framework of the lineage:

[784] --Accusations of murder by sorcery where victim and supposed murderer are both members of the lineage;

[423] --Arguments over lands within the zones effectively [578] possessed by the lineage.

613 554 692 577 The way in which the captain exercises his functions as judge is hard to know, because for the Refugee Blacks it is extremely shameful to reveal the dissensions within one's own lineage. And as for those of other lineages, if one succeeds in becoming acquainted with them, one scarcely dares talk about it for if that came to be known you could smart for it.

613 466 554 Lineage heads have a certain authority on the material level; they designate the men charged with doing the work ordered by the administration, but truth to tell, it is above all a question of choosing from among volunteers, for it is profitable work. They might not succeed in imposing clearly unpopular orders.

613 554 624 The captain designates a certain number of supervisors or basia to help him. Their /68/ role consists in watching over the cleanliness of the village, in making all the material arrangements relative to dances and burials, in calling together those concerned to the meetings of the council.

613 571 The lo constitutes a unit from the spiritual point of view, but it is important to notice that it does not involve any collective organization on the material level. In this domain the wildest individualism reigns; there are no tools for collective use, and people get together to make their clearings only if they want to.

/70 cont./

643 613 In 1957 the Dikan lineage was practically extinct. There remained only Grand Man Difu and his elder brother Samalobi, very old.

[529] The present grand man does not know the genealogy of his lineage beyond his grandmother. /Fig. 14 appears here./ /71/

[648] At the death of Awensay it was Samalobi, eldest of Awensay's classificatory nephews, who was to be named; but the French administration thought they had to oppose it, judging him too old; he yielded with good grace.

613 [165] [594] Samalobi, the ancestor, the patriarch of the Boni, died in May, 1957 at over 100 years old. Although very weakened by his infirmities and nearly blind, he kept great prestige and no important decision was made without his consent.

173 The son of Apatu, companion of Crevaux, he had retained an exact memory of the explorer whom he had accompanied during part of his trip in 1877. It is thanks to his memories that Crevaux's prestige has remained so great on the Maroni.

643 692 576 [613] --The grand man judges without appeal disputes between members of different lineages. Truly serious affairs are extremely rare, if one keeps in mind that:

[583] [584] --Disputes over the payment of dowry, paying it back in case of divorce, and the assignment of the children, which form the main part of the cases argued before ordinary African jurisdictions, do not exist among the Refugee Blacks;

643 613

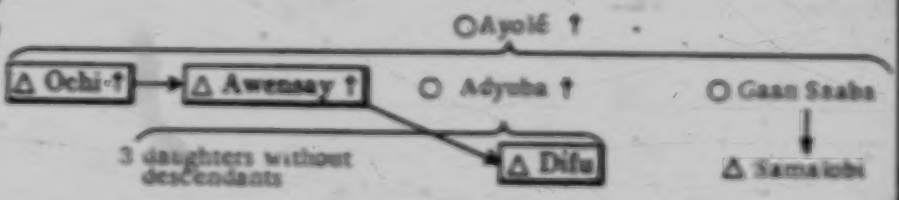

Fig. 14. Filiation of the last three grand men of the Boni.

643 692 [548] [423] /71 cont./

--Disputes over the appropriation of lands are very rare in Boni country because of the sparseness of population.

We have never seen the grand man hold anything other than audiences of conciliation relative to people who had fought or [83] threatened each other. The custom of the Refugee Blacks would indeed be difficult to fit into a code. The state of persons and social duties derive so directly from beliefs that the intervention of a judge is not indispensable for the functioning of the society.

643 423 The grand man is supposed to retain power over all the lands of Boni country which are not allocated to lineages; in particular, this is the case with the upper basin of the headstreams of the Lawa. [548] [184] It is above all by virtue of this that he is considered the suzerain of the Indians living in this territory. The same conception exists among the Djuka with respect to the headstreams of the Tapanahoni.

643 724 [126] The suzerainty of the grand man over the land and waters is marked, as in Africa, by special rights in the domain of hunting and fishing. He alone can authorize group fishing on the great river by the process of la nivrée. The same problem does not hold for hunting which is practiced in a strictly individual fashion. But it is taken for granted that if a tapir (1) is killed in Boni country,

1. The tapir is the largest animal of the bush.

the hunter must carry its head as well as a thigh to the grand man.

643 648 A certain misunderstanding reigns between the Europeans and the Boni on the subject of the duties of the grand man. The Europeans tend to believe that he commands the tribe in the way in which a colonel commands a regiment, that he can designate a certain man for a certain job, fix the price of boats, etc. The grand man tries to give satisfaction to the administration /72/ to justify the pay he draws, but he succeeds very badly in it, for in reality he possesses almost no temporal power.

[961]

Out of 14 clearings examined here, all without exception are occupied by the members of the Dipélu II fraction in Asisi. This fraction is geographically separated from the other lineages of Asisi village, and has formed a separate finage; that has to do with its relatively high effective force and the good relations among its members (the Afi lineage, with an analogous force but divided by disagreements, has not succeeded in forming a separate finage).

Of 14 clearings, 13 are held by women and one by a man [Asc].

Study of several clearings of Papalston village. The part of the Papalston finage situated on the French bank had been abandoned for several years because of an abnormal pullulation of manioc ants. In 1956-57 all the inhabitants of the village were making their clearings on the Surinam bank.

Only several clearings going back to the years 1947-50 could be identified.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
111 ○	Efa (Pl. D4)	1946	member of the Papa-lston lo	cleared for the 1st time on old secondary forest
112 ○	Wilhelmina (Pl. F1); clearing cut by her husband Bévu	1947	id.	id.
113 ○	Ouen (Pl. E13)	1950	id.	id.

[1159]

Habitations of the Lapé lo
(Paako, Samo, Chii, Pwen, Saléni)

[62] [24] [613] [423]

These habitations occupy soil belonging to the Lapé lo since the end of the 19th century.

The Kwaku habitation has been abandoned since 1943, its occupants making their clearings around Loka.

Paako habitation. The Paako habitation is occupied only by two women, Paako (Ll. E29) and her daughter Dona, who have their clearings made there by their husbands.

Chii habitation. Chii (Ll. D24) directs the habitation where she works with her son Topo, her daughters Yaana, Madu, and Koko. The daughters' husbands come to help at the time of the clearings.

[577] Pwen habitations. As a consequence of dissensions, Pwen (Ll. E33) lives all alone in this habitation.

Saléni habitation. It is directed by Saléni, an old woman of the Lapé lo (E25), who works there with her son Tingo, her daughters Kayé and Ananta.

[43] Structure of the Samo habitation called Pikin Tabiki (Lapé lo).

Habitation occupying another portion of the Lapé lo finage. Several Lapé men and women make their clearings there:

- △ Tamu (Ll. F32), who brings his wife Kaala (Dip. II) there
- △ Fosé, his brother (Ll. F33)
- ○ Méïnta, his classificatory aunt (Ll. E32);
- ○ Téké, Méïnta's daughter (Ll. F44)
- ○ Akoméda, Paako's daughter (Ll. F34).

[193] The husband of Méïnta, Téké, Akoméda come to work at the time of the clearings but are not part of the group.

/119 cont./

361 241 166 exhaustion of the lands does not seem to play any part: considering the sparseness of the population, one can either make new clearings out of primary forest or carry out any system of letting land lie fallow one wishes.

Most changes of location can be attributed to two causes of equal importance:

[136] [613] --The activity of the manioc ants; we have said that since about 15 years ago the principal soil of the Lapé Io, situated near Loka village, has had to be totally abandoned as a consequence of exceptional activity of manioc ants. From this resulted the creation of several farming habitations on the soil of the Lapé Io studied here;

361 241 166 578 --Personal motives, among which comes first of all disagreement among the members of a group. For example ○ Kulina and ○ Baiamaman (Boniville, Dju) made their clearings until 1950 with their mother Béniti in her farming village in Kuyaku locality (to the south of Kormotibo).

In 1950 there was a quarrel. Kulina and Baiaom have made their clearings since that time at the habitation of their father Maiabi (Lapé).

[168] It happens especially that upon the death of its founder a farming habitation disappears or changes composition entirely because disagreements arise.

361 241 166 Another cause of change of location of farming habitations is change of activity of their occupants. For example, a man grows old, he no longer finds paid work, he creates a habitation in order to take up fishing (Akwadé's case). When he reaches extreme old age, he abandons his habitation to move close to his relatives (case of Samalobi, first occupant of the lands cultivated nowadays by Antonu village). /Page 120 blank/

/172 cont./

764 Suddenly an incident erupts. Basfu (Lapé) insinuates that
• 578 Agidibon (Aw.B.) is helping himself immoderately. Insulting words are exchanged. Agidibon leaves the council. General commotion. The tumult calms down after a quarter of an hour.

764 The speaker now thanks the foreigners passing through. Saramaka and Djuka, who helped at the obsequies.

764 Someone puts down on the ground a paddle on which is
787 attached a bundle wrapped in cloth. It is the dead woman's
[965] paddle, and the bundle contains her hair. It is kept until the broko dé (it seems, in fact, that this is the reason for this celebration) in order to keep contact with the dead woman's yeka for the further questions people might have to ask it (1).

1. It seems that on this point custom envisages especially the case of near relatives of the dead person traveling on the river at the time of the death, and who could not be present at the burial.

Then, several [illegible] will go to the cemetery to bury the bundle inside the mound.

The spectators go toward a shaded spot, for it is near noon and the sun is overwhelming.

Sowoman carries the front of the paddle and Tamia the back. Without any question at all being asked, they circulate in the village for a long time. Several times I see them make contradictory movements, and their heads forward and sideways at the same time.

Here they are back again near Tafanié. To my great surprise Tafanié asks questions in a low voice, cupping his hands in front of his mouth.

6:Hurault--274 K-5 (1948-1959) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8 Boni

/180 cont./

765 613 689 An incident. In 1957, the Saramaka Gamba (75 years old), Way's widower (Dip. I), caused a serious incident by refusing several times the obedience he owed to the latter's lineage, on the pretext that he was old and knew how to behave.

His son Maliki (born of a Saramaka woman), whom he was raising, married to Way's daughter, had gone fishing above the Litani. Upon his return, Kwau (80 years old), Way's elder brother, reproached him for having left without authorization, pointing out that his father, Gamba, being placed under his authority by mourning, he was too, because of this fact. Gamba [598] did not accept this reasoning and the two old men fought. This [769] was a fine scandal. Kwau and the elders of Way's lineage came [798] before the fraga tiki of L'Enfant Perdu village to lift his mourn- [784] ing forthwith (which, let us recall, is the equivalent of cursing him by delivering him over to the vengeance of the dead woman's yaka).

Members of Way's family went to break up the shacks of Gamba and his son, who lived hidden in the bush for some time. [629] Then Gamba had the village heads intercede and obtained his [769] pardon. The elders of Way's lineage went to the fraga tiki to [798] utter the words putting things back in order.

765 Lifting of mourning. The festival of the lifting of mourning - pau baaka - is celebrated 18 months to two years after the burial. The delay may be a little longer, for most often the village celebrates this festival for several of its dead at the same time. It is a heavy burden, for festivals for lifting mourning attract many people and everyone present must find as much as he wishes to eat and drink.

[621] This festival is celebrated in the framework of the village and not in that of the lineage. It will be celebrated in the same way for a Dyoka who died in a Boni village, provided that he lived there a sufficiently long time. In such a case the expenses

/208 cont./

787 789 the Forestry Society of Saint-Laurent, told us of seeing in 1937 among the Paramaka a possessed man take firmly in his hands a red-hot axe-head and keep it between his two hands for an appreciable length of time.

Personally we have several times seen possessed people thrash themselves with spiny awara branches and break bottles on their heads with such violence that the pieces flew several meters; some of them were hurt, but others presented an intact epidermis.

There is no special instruction for the exercises of invulnerability. The possessed person does what he feels capable of, strikes himself progressively harder and harder, breaks bottles, etc.

It is affirmed that certain possessed people are capable of climbing the thorny awara palm-trees. If the gita then abandons them, they can no longer come down. Those who know the Kumanti /sic/ language well then evoke the god by formulas so that he will come back.

787 578 [173] Theoretically, if someone wrongs a man who has a Kumfuti, his gita "rises" immediately. The guilty one can do no more than flee. They say that in the old days possessed people were seen /209/ to kill those who had done them wrong. No kunu can result from this if the victim is in the wrong. Nothing like this has been seen for a very long time.

The principle is that if one has nothing to reproach himself about with respect to the possessed person, one has nothing to fear from him. This is why people do not hesitate to interpose themselves between the possessed one and the object of his wrath.

[789] If two men having a Kumfuti get into an argument, their gita "rise" simultaneously and they strike each other with machete blows without, it is said, any harm resulting to either one, until someone separates them.

784 795 613 578 /233 cont./ One conceives of the interminable dimensions which this situation entails: if the manifestations of the kunu do not cease, the victims let it be understood that the prayers were badly made.... /Figure 28 appears here./

761 628 613 784 Every suspicious death whose circumstances lead to the belief that /234/ an inhabitant of another village was responsible can bring on a punitive expedition against that village and other villages of the same kin group. By taking this vengeful attitude even before the grand man has been notified and the blamed people heard, the people of the dead person's lineage are thinking above all else of taking precautions against the action of the dead person, who could turn back his vengeance against them. Actually, these fights are above all symbolic; the wisdom of the Refugee Blacks has promulgated precepts which many nations could take as a pattern, in order that these punitive expeditions might not have serious consequences:

628

--One may strike only with the fists, and blood must not flow;

--Men may strike only men, while the women find fault with women;

--One may fight only on the village common and before witnesses, never in the bush or on the river. As a general rule, the people aimed at by the expedition do not resist, but flee into the bush or on the boats, or group themselves around the fraga tiki, holy place which the aggressors must respect.

628 613 We have told about the expedition made in April, 1957 by the people of Assi-Awara Bakka against the villages of L'Enfant Perdu (Dipélu I) and Kormotibo (Dipélu II). Eight years earlier, in 1949, another squabble had thrown the Dipélu against the Awara Bakka after the death of Pétitbona (Dip. II), whom her husband Boofo had taken to Surinam and who had died there. The Kormotibo people claimed that Boofo was responsible for her death. They went to attack the people of Assi who, although three times more numerous, did not try

[354] [126] /241 cont./ Several cases of wisi. We transcribe these affairs as they were related to us, placing ourselves in the perspective of the narrator, without making any judgment as to the nature of the facts and their probability.

N... affair. -- N..., of Kotika, was working gold with another Boni. After they had eaten /242/ together, the latter was taken with uncontrollable vomiting, then he died. His near relatives blamed N..., accusing him of wisi. In the night N... took refuge at Benzdorp and took passage on a Dyuka boat which was going down the river. He settled in Paramaribo. [167] Since then his sister T... has gone to join him. They have left the Boni for good.

P... affair. -- Toko (Dapéa II), while boating on the lower river, wagered one morning with his friend Kwami (who told us the story) to stay in a div for the time necessary to fill a five-liter demijohn; bet taken; Toko did not come back up, he had drowned. His body was found the next day. The family [578] blamed one P..., of Kotika village, whose wife N... had left him to marry Toko and who at the time had made threats. [683] They insulted him, they presented Toko's decomposed body to him: "Eat him, since you have killed him like game." P... stubbornly denied it. The grand man commanded that he be left alone, turning him over to Odun to punish if he were guilty. As a matter of fact, some time afterward, P... died and was declared wisimã.

[464] S... affair. -- About 1955, S..., of Kotika, about 60 years old, was working with Kwau weeding the clearings of a Bensdorp Creole who raised oxen. One morning this cattle-raiser saw one of his oxen covered with blood coming from wounds which bore tooth marks and could not have been made by man. He followed the traces of blood which led him to S...'s hammock.

/245 cont./
ground, after scattering the cloths which were covering her, and left without carrying out any rite.

"Next we went to Boniville, the grand man invoked Odun on our behalf, stating that we had only followed his laws and that he had to protect the performers of the job against any distressing consequence."

Development of sorcery. Since 1957 Boni country has been passing through a crisis; /246/ fear of sorcery is poisoning village life, while in 1948-50 it was a preoccupation of secondary importance.

That is due to the fact that the rapid growing rich of part of the Boni aggravates jealousies and suspicions. Moreover, these affairs tend to appear in series. Since the case related above (1958), in which a woman, N...., was convicted of having paid a Creole quimboiseur to make the grand man die, an affair which strongly impressed the Boni, they tend to see wini in all misfortunes that occur.

In November, 1958 the death of a little girl of 12 of Kotika village was attributed to her uncle Mbomaolo, who had recently emigrated to Surinam and settled in a Creole village. It is believed that he "committed himself," that is, that he sold his soul to the devil (1), which necessitates sacrificing one

1. This notion, which plays such a large role in West Indian beliefs, has no equivalent among the Refugee Blacks. There is no word in the Boni language for translating the term "committed." They translate thus: a e suku didibi, he seeks the devil. The Boni do not have a clear image of the devil, and this notion remains, in fact, foreign to their beliefs.

/253 cont./

Various Beliefs

578 Fyo-fyo. If a Boni is on bad terms with someone of his lineage or of another lineage, he has the absolute right to turn a cold shoulder to him and stop having anything to do with him. But if, hiding his rancor, he seeks, from selfish motives, to maintain the appearance of friendly relations, he risks falling ill, being struck by various calamities, or even dying from the effect of what the Refugee Blacks call a fyo-fyo. The nature of this force is not clear; they know only that its support is a small, common insect named fyo-fyo. They declare that if a person dies from the consequences of a fyo-fyo, one of these insects will be seen leaving his body through the nose at the moment of death.

776 Taku sani. By this name the Refugee Blacks designate maleficent entities of the bush, which they imagine as of nonhuman nature by contrast to the taku yɔ́ka, wandering spirits of dead people rejected by society. These entities are lower beings devoid of consciousness but dangerous for men into whom they may enter, rendering them sick or mad. Certain of these entities are believed to reside in plants, like the bɔ́kɔ́ɔ́, others are thought to take on the appearance of dwarfs (baku), whom certain people believe they sometimes see at dawn on the outskirts of villages.

751 One protects oneself against taku sani by special ɔ́ka, and those who do not feel completely secure take a certain number of precautions in addition, like that of tearing up the leaves they have used for drinking water from creeks.

Schwab--404 K-6 (1948-1956) 1961 SRS Bush Negroes SRS Boni

/256 cont./

When twins die young people almost always blame a disagreement which has arisen in the lineage. The twins did not want to live in a dissolved family. The head of the lineage then exhorts his people to be reconciled with one another at any cost in order to avoid new misfortunes.(1).

1. In general they have the idea that disputes occuring in the lineage have as a consequence illnesses or misfortunes striking the members of the lineage. This notion plays a major role in the social life of the Refugee Blacks; after the kumu, it is the principle cement holding groups together.

One who karms a twin is sure to fall ill. Conversely, it is assumed that the twin must not abuse his power, that he must lead an upright life and avoid quarrels. He is nearer to God than other men.

They assume for example that Ma. of Papaloma village, herself a twin and the mother of twins, has a very special power. Nobody would risk harming her.

In lineages having many twins there exists a place of worship sacred to a vital principle called Twillinga. The nature of this principle is not clear. The Boni define it as the soul of twins. Is it a memory of the first twins Adam and Eve? Or of a collective worship offered up to all deceased twins?

/292 cont./

Relations with the Other Populations

The tribes of Refugee Blacks do not constitute a closed world. They have lived since their formation in close symbiosis with the neighboring populations: autochthonous Indians, Europeans, and Creoles. Their traditions and their conception of life have been strongly influenced by these, not because they have lost anything of their interior unity, but because they have accepted, at least collectively, the idea that they have bonds and duties toward other men.

Just as their economy on the material plane is based on exchange, so they consider the symbiosis of their group with the neighboring groups as the normal order of the universe. The misfortunes undergone by their ancestors have given them an extreme horror of violence; they consider peace a precious blessing common to all nations, and their moral principles which forbid harming anyone extend to all men. It is clear that these notions are less clearly understood on the individual level and that there are, as elsewhere, some thefts and abuses of trust. But, on /293/ the collective level, the relations between the Refugee Blacks and their neighbors are established on a base of trust, loyalty, and honesty not found to the same degree in Africa.

Relations with the other tribes. The Boni do not have any well-defined political ties with the other tribes of Refugee Blacks, but the grand men have semiofficial relations through the medium of messengers, and consult one another rather frequently.

The Boni have harbored a tenacious resentment against the Djuka for having in former times allied themselves with the Dutch against them, but this resentment, chiefly collective in nature, has died down with time; it does not prevent individual relations from being cordial.